

We talk of them descending from the "Tree of Life," which is a metaphor for what actually did happen, as our tree-dwelling ancestors left the protection of the trees to stand erect upon the earth. We are biologically related to all other life forms on this planet, and like all other life forms, our physical bodies are made up of the elements of the earth. When we die, our substance returns to the earth. We believe in a "Giver of Life," a "Creator," but we do not believe in a "Heavenly King," or "Lord," which is a reflection of the Epoch of Exploitation.

We believe that it is Creator's intention that we live together as a people and share the bounty of his blessings in peace, and that no one was intended to lord it over or exploit another. The issues of race, ethnicity and nationality that divide us are of our own invention. As far as we have drifted from Creator's intention, we are not completely lost, we can still find our way back home, back to Creator. We have lost our innocence, but not our free will. We can determine to put an end to the Epoch of Exploitation, to war and injustice and their causes. We have the means at our disposal to eliminate hunger and want for all. We can take what we need from Nature without overtaxing the eco-system. We can once again stand tall upon the earth as free human beings, as Lenape.

It is to these ends that we are building the Lenape National Restoration Movement (LNRM) and the Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS). Our traditional spiritual orientation will illuminate the way. The path will be difficult and demanding, but the future shall be bright. We shall dare to make it so. May Creator stand us tall! A'ho!



Lumbees display captured Klan flag



**Red Heart Warrior Society**  
P.O. Box 4362

Allentown, Pennsylvania 18105  
(610)-437-771 or (717)-625-2840

**SOUTH CHICAGO ABC**  
**ZINE DISTRO**  
POB 721 HOMEWOOD IL 60430



## Race, Ethnicity and Nationality in America

By Tom Big Warrior, June 1, 2003

Because of the particularities and peculiarities of American history, race, ethnicity and nationality form complex patterns, divisions and overlays in the texture of American society. First and foremost, America is a colonial-settler society occupying the homelands of numerous indigenous nations. These once sovereign nations have not disappeared, they are just under the boot-heel of the colonial-settler society. The indigenous Americans constitute an oppressed ethnic minority in America and are part of the multi-ethnic underclass of poor and working people at the bottom of American society as well as oppressed semi-sovereign nations.

The colonial-settlers came from many nations in Europe, and they brought over millions of kidnapped Africans to labor as slaves on the plantations and in the mines of America. To a lesser degree, Asians were also later brought over as coolie laborers, primarily on the West Coast. The Europeans merged into the white "race" in America, though many retained ethnic identities as German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, and so on. The Africans were also merged into a black "race" after being stripped of their national identities and culture.

Under conditions of slavery and segregation, two distinct nations, one black and one white, emerged in America, particularly in the South. Moreover, to have any discernable African blood-heritage at all put one in the Black Nation. Even today, a Mariah Carey is considered to be a "Black entertainer," though one must look hard to see she is not completely "white." James Earl Jones is considered to be a "Black actor," though recently he was honored as the "Cherokee Man of the Year."

At one time, colonialism made the distinction of "Mixed-bloods," "Mulattos" or "Colored People," but gradually all non-white people were classed as "Coloreds." The standard racial categories today are: Negro (black), Caucasian (white), Hispanic, Asian and Native American or Pacific Islander. Only in white-racist America would "Hispanic" be considered a race. "Hispanic," or "Spanish-speaking" people can be white, Black, Indian, Mulatto, Metes or of any other ethnic background. But even the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians are classed as "Hispanic" here.

Martin Sheen, and even his son, Emilio Estavez, (who uses the family name), are considered to be "white actors" in America, while Ricardo Monteban or Cesar Romero are "Hispanics." I guess the difference is the accent. Geraldo Rivera "became" "Hispanic" after starting his career as Jerry Rivers. There are Spanish-speaking Indians,



who do not consider themselves to be "Hispanics," like the Tainos, Aztecas, Mayans and Yaguas. They have their own languages and national identities.

In Central and South America, the "Spanish" whites are the ruling class over the non-white peoples. The "Indios" people are sorely oppressed, and those who still have some measure of tribal unity and sovereignty over their lands are under sharp attack, like the Indians of Guatemala or Peru, where hundreds of thousands of Native American women were forcibly sterilized under the US-backed Fujimori dictatorship.

Here in the United States, there is an "American" nationality that is inclusive of non-white people promoted by the white power structure, particularly in recruitment posters for the military. Colin Powell is part of this "America" and the white power structure. For purposes of clarity, I will introduce a Lenape word, *wapsu* (meaning white), to distinguish between this America and the "other America" of which the Indian nations and the Black Nation are a part.

The corporations and their representatives are *wapsu* no matter what their ethnic background. The TV news-people, the military and police are all *wapsu*, because that is who they serve, take their pay and orders from, and think like. Actors and performers like Danny Glover, Richard Prior and Chris Rock are part of the Black Nation in America. Munnia Abu Jamal, Sundiata Acoli, Seth Hayes, Samuel Angel Coley and the many other Black political prisoners and prisoners of war in America are visible representatives of this Black Nation and the oppression it endures. It is demeaned, degraded and exploited like the indigenous nations.

Since the onset of the colonization of America, the Africans in America and the Indian nations have been each other's best allies. Long before there was an "Underground Railroad" to the North and Canada, the path to freedom for Black people led to the Indian nations. Runaway slaves and Black Indians played a significant role in the resistance to the expansion of the colonial-settler society, particularly in the Seminole Wars, which were a humiliation for the *wapsu* military, who could never claim a military victory.

Many heroes of the Black struggle, like Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Bobby Seale, were of mixed African and Native American blood-heritage. Indeed, a majority of Black people in America have some indigenous blood-heritage. It was not until 1700 that the African slaves outnumbered the Native American ones in North America. Under segregation, Indians and Blacks were often put together in the same schools and churches.

Even as large numbers of Indians were forced to migrate west or were deported, small bands of isolates formed that became tri-racial in composition. These groups survived on the fringes of the *wapsu* society, managing a marginalized existence on land the whites did not want, often in the swamps, pine barrens and mountain hollows. Some, like the Seminoles, Halaqua and Lumbees formed new nations out of remnant groups of Indians of different nationalities, Blacks and outcast whites.

history, I could go on and on with examples of this historical revisionism, which is in essence racist and reactionary.

Everything is as it is because of the historical development that led up to it, even if that history has been covered over or is unknown by the people. Being conscious of that history gives us an edge and greater ability to perceive reality and affect how things will develop in the future. The point of history is to make the past serve the future. The role of revolutionaries is to represent the potential future in the struggles of the present.

That is what we are striving to do in the Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS). The *wapsu* society we live in, the New World Order, is the final and highest stage of the long Epoch of Exploitation. This epoch began thousands of years ago in Mesopotamia, the "Cradle of Civilization," when the first selfish chief turned from a protector to an exploiter of his people. Since then, it has been a long chain-reaction of one system of exploitation overturning another to more effectively and profitably exploit the masses of people.

This did not reach our people until a few hundred years ago with the European discovery of the "New World" and its conquest and colonization. Our authentic historical traditions and spiritual orientation reflect this Pre-Exploitative Epoch. The science of DNA mapping now tells us what the Lenape ancestors knew in their hearts, that we are all related and descended from an original ancestor they call the "Genetic Eve." We talk of the "First Man and First Woman," which of course is the same thing.





formations, is composed of people of various ethnic backgrounds and centered primarily among the youth and students.

It is far more conscious of the issues affecting the American Indian people than previous American Lefts, which were centered almost exclusively on the workers movement and extended somewhat to the Black Civil Rights Movement. Support for Leonard Peltier extends throughout the Left of this country and internationally. The struggles of indigenous peoples around the world, such as the Mayan Zapatistas in Mexico, the Shining Path in Peru, and ethnic minorities in Nepal, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Kurdistan, and elsewhere have given the contemporary Left a heightened sensitivity to issues beyond abolition of the wage system.

The basic strategy of the contemporary Left is a world-wide united front against imperialism with the key alliance being between the struggle of the working class and that of the oppressed nations and nationalities. Ironically, however, the Indian nations have largely remained aloof from these sympathetic potential allies, instead pinning their hopes on the paternalism of the federal government. Even the rude wake-up call of the Bush Administration's overtly anti-Indian policies has yet to fully register in many American Indian's consciousness.

Many fell for the dual tactics of the Nixon Administration "hook, line and sinker." AIM drifted to the Right after the occupation of Wounded Knee and forgot all about challenging the legitimacy of the *wapsu* government. This is why the Left has been more consistent and vocal in demanding Leonard Peltier's release than the Indian nations have. For eight years, they kept waiting for Clinton to make good on his campaign promise, while issues like sports' mascots took precedence in AIM's agenda. Building support for the struggles of Native American peoples outside the US was almost totally ignored.

Neither of the two major factions of AIM has done much of any relevance in the past couple of decades, and have probably alienated more potential supporters and allies than they have won over, including among the Native American people. Most shamefully of all, they have become historical revisionists bending the truth of history to suit their personal agendas. "Squaw," we are told, is the Iroquois, or Navajo, or Lakota, (whatever language the speaker doesn't know), word for a "vagina" or a "whore," when in fact it is an Anglicized pronunciation of the Lenape word for "woman." "Indians didn't take scalps," we are told, "until the whites introduced the practice," even though the warriors of the Eastern Woodlands peoples all wore scalp-locks and had elaborate rituals and beliefs concerning them long before the colonial Indian wars and "scalp bounties."

Not long ago, I had an AIM organizer tell me that: "Indians didn't shoot fire-arrows in the white settler's roofs." And of course, "Indians didn't cross over from Asia," despite the oral history of the Lenape, Shawnee and other nations. A whole mythology of four separate races; the red, white, black and yellow, has sprung up in contradiction to historic tradition (and reality), which is clearly adopted from 19th Century white racist ideology. The existence of White Indians and Black Indians is written out of their versions of



Piscataway Indians around the turn of the last century (Time Life Books)

The white colonial-settlers were divided by class as well as by ethnicity. Many Irish and Scottish people were deported to America, (as well as the Caribbean and Australia), as a means of suppressing the national resistance of these peoples to British imperialism. Criminals, debtors, orphans and paupers were also transported from England as indentured servants. The Swedes sent Finns to colonize New Sweden, and the Dutch sent Walloons to New Netherland. Scots-Irish and Palatine German ethnic minorities were also sent to America, or pressured by discriminatory government policy to go. Refugees from both sides of the English Civil War came fleeing religious persecution.

Later waves of emigration came from all over Europe, (and eventually the World), both seeking economic opportunity and to escape political and religious oppression. Most commonly, they came from the displaced peasantry seeking land or a job. In feudal Europe, land had been the measure of wealth and power. The Common Law was made and administered by the titled landlords. The landlords had the power of "pit and gallows" over the peasants. At times they even had the "Right of First Night" to deflower the young brides of their tenants.



Even before the American Revolution, this was considered the "Land of the Free" by the oppressed masses of Europeans, even as they helped deprive the Africans and Native Americans of their freedom. But not all white people went along with the program. Many sided with, intermarried with, and even fought alongside of the Native and Black people. White Indians like Simon Girty, and Blue Jacket were serious opponents of the *wapsu* encroachment on Indian lands.

Colonialism is a business controlled at the top by speculators, investors and bankers who grease the politicians to utilize the armed forces and state power. Racism was their invention as a control mechanism to manipulate the white colonial-settlers to see themselves as part of a "master race" intended by God to exploit and oppress the "inferior races," even to commit genocide against them. It was almost mandatory to build a record as an "Indian fighter" to run for high political office in America. Not all whites embraced this hateful ideology, though few were, (or are), unaffected by it.

A great deal of race mixing occurred because there were few white women on the frontier. At times the government even encouraged it as a means of civilizing and assimilating the Indians. Mixed-blood "go-betweens" were exploited by the military, the government and the fur companies. Though on the whole, race mixing was prohibited or discouraged. Too many "go-betweens" could present a problem, as with the Metis Nation (French-Indians) in Canada, who demanded their sovereignty in the western provinces and fought for it.

White captives in the Indian wars seldom wanted to repatriate. Women were oppressed in the *wapsu* society, and after a taste of life in the Indian world, they seldom wanted to leave it. The military was often dismayed to find that the Indian villages contained more white and Black captives than Indians, who could easily run away as the warriors were often gone on campaigns. When the American would-be "liberators" approached, they would run off to the forest with the Indians or stay and help the warriors resist them. Often the soldiers had to "hog-tie" them to bring them back to the *wapsu* settlements.

The Indians were the primary inspiration for the early American Left. Long before the American Revolution, the workers of Philadelphia would down their tools on May 1<sup>st</sup> to celebrate "King Tammany's Day," in honor of the Lenape *sakima*, Tamenend, who made the Great Treaty under the elm tree with William Penn. They would march single file through the streets dressed in homemade Indian regalia to their "wigwam" on the edge of town, where they sang, danced and drummed in the Indian fashion and smoked the Peace Pipe. They also made speeches, in the style of Indian oratory, and drank toasts to Liberty and the Rights of Man.

When the Pennsylvania Colony split between support for the Penn family's Proprietary Party and the proponents of a Crown Colony, the Sons of King Tammany took control of the streets from both the Proprietary and King's men, enabling their leader, the adopted Lenape, Charles "Truthful Man" Thomson, to summon the Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia. Thomson became the Secretary of the Continental Congress, which proclaimed Tammany to be the "Patron Saint of America," and made Mayday, "The

misuse of that power. To make an example of him, the FBI wants him to rot to death in prison. The message being, "You cannot resist us with arms, even in self-defense."

In the Post-Cold War period, America is in a moral crisis. Imperialism is straining against the constraints of Liberal Democracy. In the absence of the Soviet "threat," only world opinion and the will of the American people restrain the moves of the ruling oligarchy of monopoly capitalists. Clearly, world opinion means little to the Bush Administration, and the majority of the American people are controlled by the mass media controlled by the multinational corporations. "Liberal" has become a dirty word, and the neo-liberals are right there with the Republicans tailing behind the same media polls that are manipulated by the Right.



Demonstration in Oakland, California against Iraq War

The "other America" has set unprecedented records for mass demonstrations in the past year, and the American Left is regenerating itself as part of a world-wide peace and anti-imperialist movement. Still the Right and the Neo-Liberals are plotting the next war, most likely against Iran, again a country with major oil and gas reserves, which is now bracketed between US-occupied Afghanistan and US-occupied Iraq.

Like the majority of the American people, the American Left is largely ignorant of its indigenous roots. The contemporary American Left, led by groups that came out of the political upsurges of the 60s and 70s, like Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA, the New Black Panther Movement, MOVE, the Green Party, and various Anarchist, Libertarian, Environmentalist, Black Nationalist, Feminist and other



greatly threatened by the returning Black combat veterans, and launched a number of anti-Black race riots across America. The 1920s was in fact a high-tide of KKK activity.

Unlike their fascist counterparts in Europe, the KKK was not ambitious for national power. They were basically content to maintain their "Invisible Empire" of corruption and intimidation on a regional basis. Politically, they were tied to the Southern Democrats, who were allied with the Liberal Democrats in Washington. Had they been the arm of the Republican finance capitalists, as the Brown Shirts were with the German Industrialists, WWII might have taken a very different turn.

It was politically expedient for the Liberals to not rock the boat down South; not until the Civil Rights Movement of the Cold War era. The immediate post-war period saw a sudden chill in the alliance between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American alliance. Having subordinated the class struggle for the anti-fascist alliance, the Left in America was ill-prepared for the hysteria of McCarthyism in the 1950s and even less prepared for the radical upsurges among the people in the 1960s.

Anti-Communism was a new religion that could be shared by Cold War Liberals and KKK members alike. Throughout the Cold War, the threat of the Soviet Union was greatly hyped. Far from being a "superpower" like the US, Russia was straining hard to present a credible deterrent to attack by the West. Much of Stalin's paranoia stemmed from the weakness of the Russians relative to the surrounding imperialist world. Communism did spread, but mostly because of Soviet support for the national liberation struggles in the colonized Third World.

To stay in the arms race, the Soviets resorted to their own brand of imperialism in their relationships with other countries. Like the Liberals, the Communists could justify compromises with their principles because of the threat of the other side. Both sides employed dual tactics, wanting to be seen and to see themselves as the "good guys." In America, driving the Reds out of the unions and conducting a general witch-hunt, was offset by reforms and granting concessions to the masses of people financially, and in terms of civil rights.

Not that people did not have to fight for these concessions, but in every fight there was the concern to chill people out and divide them from Leftist support and leadership. After several hard-fought battles to unionize the steel industry led by the Left, the Steel Companies signed with the CIO without a strike. They didn't want a repeat of the battle to establish the UAW in the automobile plants. The red-colored countries on the geopolitical map gave the Liberals clout to influence the Right to go along with some democratic and economic reforms.

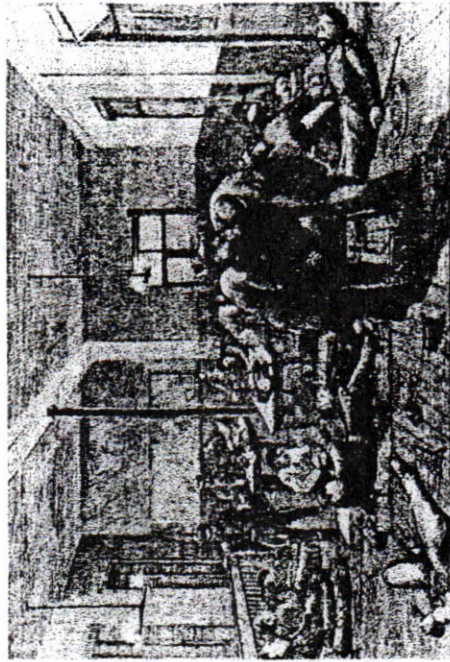
Imperialism needed to present a humane face and a paternalistic concern for the peoples' rights and welfare. Protest had power because the system feared exposure, but it would also use its political power to persecute those who protested whenever it could. Leonard Peltier is a case in point. The government admits it does not know who shot the two FBI agents, but Leonard is a symbol of rebellion against government authority, even the

Feast of the Common Man," the second national holiday after July 4<sup>th</sup>. Thomson steered the Indian policy of the new republic to recognition of the full sovereignty of the Indian Nations over the lands west of the Ohio River, including the right to form an Indian state to be represented in the Continental Congress, as outlined in the Pittsburgh Treaty of 1778.

Many Continental soldiers and sailors fought under battle flags emblazoned with Tamanend's totem, the coiled rattlesnake, and the words, "DON'T TRED ON ME." Others carried flags with the Pine Tree symbol of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Sons of Liberty in Boston and New York had street-fighting wings known as the "Mohawks." It was the "Mohawks" who were credited with dumping the tea in Boston Harbor, and other acts of civil disobedience and riot.

This early American Left was multi-ethnic. The leader of the "Mohawks" in New York City was a Black man known as "The General." Crispus Atticus, a martyr of the Boston Massacre, was of mixed African and Indian blood-heritage. After the war, the rank and file veterans formed the Tammany Society in contrast to Washington's elitist Order of Cincinnati, which was restricted to officers who had served in the regular Continental Army or the French Army and their descendants. The Tammany Society led the fight for the Bill of Rights and formed the core of the Republican-Democratic Party in opposition to Washington's Federalist Party.

The Tammany Society spread to many cities and towns in America and continued the practice of dressing in Indian regalia and performing Indian ceremonies. They supported the French Revolution as well as rebellions against the Whiskey Tax and the feudal landlords of the Mid-Hudson Valley, and they opposed the Indian wars. Over time, it became mired in corrupt city politics, and with the great influx of immigrants lost its Native American orientation.



Scene in Desplaines Street Police Station, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1886.



Increasingly, May 1<sup>st</sup> became the focus of the struggle to shorten the workday, first to 12 hours and then to eight. Starting in Philadelphia, the center of the movement shifted to Chicago, where a massive general strike was held on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1886. To provide an excuse to attempt to violently crush this movement and brand the workers as "terrorists," a police agent threw a bomb into a crowd of Chicago policemen at a rally in support of striking workers at the McCormick factory in Chicago's Haymarket Square on May 3<sup>rd</sup>. Leaders of the eight-hour day movement were charged, convicted and hung. But this cruel act of oppression backfired, and the movement grew and spread internationally. Mayday became "International Workers Day."

The many campaigns of the Indian Wars were also falsely portrayed as "defensive." Indian "uprisings" were provoked to justify breaking treaties and grabbing more land to satisfy the demands of speculators and mining and railroad companies, who cut the politicians in on the profits. Being considered an "Injun Lover," or a "Niggah Lover," was grounds for lynching in America, as was a Black or Indian man daring to look at a white woman or look a white man in the eye.

In the Roman tradition of "Divide and Rule," the Indian nations were played against each other. White racism was pushed hard, to keep the Indian resistance, the Black resistance, and the rising workers' movement from hooking up and becoming a powerful united front. This did not happen until the '60s, under the influence of the Black Panther Party (BPP), which helped to launch the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Again, murderous repression came down in the form of the FBI's COINTEL program of infiltration, disruption, false prosecution and assassination. It was applied to the Left generally, but most particularly to the BPP and AIM. AIM had caught the government by surprise with the "Trail of Broken Treaties" campaign, which culminated with the takeover of BIA headquarters in Washington, DC by a force of 500 Indians in November of 1972.

Almost without realizing it, the Indian activists had called into question the legitimacy of the *wapsu* government. The Constitution holds that treaties constitute the "highest law of the land." But the US government had broken every one of more than 370 Indian treaties. From the illegal invasion of the Ohio Territory under President Washington on, the US government was in violation of International Law and its own Constitution.

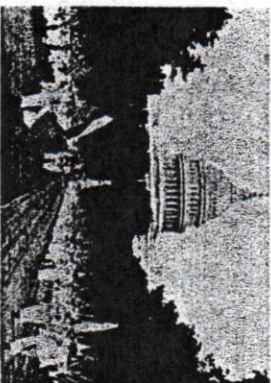
Nixon responded by drawing AIM into an armed confrontation on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The FBI armed and directed a paramilitary force on the rez who called themselves the "Guardians Of the Ogala Nation," composed primarily of mixed-bloods, to terrorize and murder the Lakota traditionalists and AIM members and supporters. The elders called for protection from AIM warriors. Instead of going head up against the GOONS, AIM led an armed occupation of the Wounded Knee massacre site in February of 1973. This stand-off drew worldwide attention and support from the Left internationally. Afterwards, the government launched an intensified reign of terror on the rez, leading to the frame-up of Leonard Peltier in the killing of two FBI agents who opened fire on the AIM encampment at the Jumping Bull family ranch.

made homeless. By 1932, 11,000 of the United States' 25,000 banks had collapsed, manufacturing output had fallen to half its 1929 level, and 25 to 30% of workers throughout the world were unemployed and with no means of support. Millions roamed the country in search of work. In the US, the uncontrolled development of the early 1920s had reduced vast tracts of land to a dust bowl, primarily in Oklahoma, and farmers unable to sell their produce, unable to repay their bank loans, were evicted and with their families joined the human flood of misery. The ranks of the Left swelled including the newly-formed Communist Party-USA.

The "New Deal," while bitterly opposed by Republicans as "Socialism," was in fact aimed at preserving capitalism. Many of the reforms instituted, had, in fact, been first proposed by the Left, like unemployment compensation and Social Security Insurance. Most significantly, the Roosevelt Administration threw its weight behind the right of the workers in the basic industries to form unions under the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Like the IWW, and unlike the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the CIO welcomed ethnic minorities, including Blacks, into its ranks and built industry-wide unions.

The political-economy of America had mutated in the years before WWI. The Spanish-American War marked the emergence of the US as an imperialist power on the world stage. Industrial capital had merged with banking capital to become finance capital. Wall Street was behind both the post-war boom of the "Roaring 20s" and the "Great Depression" of the 30s. Imperialism took two different directions in the world. In Germany, Italy and other countries, fascism emerged to crush the workers movement and ethnic minorities, while liberal democracy sought to make accommodations with them and steer them towards reforms rather than revolution.

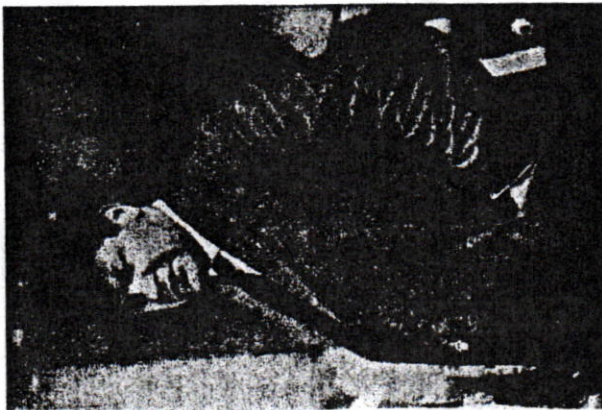
However, these were tactical differences, as both were in fact ruled by an oligarchy of finance capitalists. But this was not so evident in the 1930s. WWII is what brought America out of the "Great Depression." Internationally, the Left and the Liberal Democrats made common cause to defeat the Axis Powers after the invasion of the Soviet Union. The war had a dramatic effect on the Indian nations whose warriors joined the military service in greater numbers than any other ethnic group. It also had a dramatic effect on the Black Nation, by accelerating the move away from the Deep South to the North and California to become industrial workers.



While Black troops were segregated, (unlike the Indians), as in earlier wars, they were largely kept out of combat and put in labor battalions. Black soldiers had fought with distinction in every war since the Civil War, including the Indian Wars, and those who did get to fight in WWII, like the Tuskegee Army, showed great courage. After WWI, the KKK and other racist-fascist groups felt



Espionage Act to silence opposition, but he received almost a million votes for President on the Socialist ticket in 1920 while still in prison. Born in the Oklahoma Indian Territory to a Cherokee mother, Frank Little was lynched in Montana by masked goons in the employ of the Copper Trust. His gravestone in a Butte, Montana, cemetery reads: "Slain By Capitalist Interests For Organizing And Inspiring His Fellow Men."



William D. "Big Bill" Haywood

In 1915, "Big Bill" became President of the IWW, or "Wobblies" as they were popularly known, and led major strikes of textile workers in Massachusetts and Paterson, NJ. Some three million workers at one time or another carried red IWW cards. The strategy of "One Big Union" fighting for the end of "wage slavery" struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the most oppressed workers and fear in the hearts of exploiters everywhere.

During WWI, Haywood was arrested under the Sedition Act, for leading a strike, and spent a year in Leavenworth, (where the government currently holds Leonard Peltier). While out on appeal, he jumped bail in 1921 and went into exile in Russia, but not before helping to found the first American Communist Party. He died in exile in 1928. Half of his ashes were buried in the Kremlin near his friend, and fellow "Wobbler," John Reed, and not far from Lenin's tomb, an urn containing the other half of his ashes was sent to Chicago and buried near a monument to the Haymarket anarchists who first inspired his life of radicalism.

The "Great Depression" began with the Stock Market Crash of 1929. Overnight America was plunged into conditions of desperate poverty as millions lost their jobs and were

U.S. Marshals' bunker on eastern perimeter of Wounded Knee. Lawyer Ken Tilsen, who was inside the village of Wounded Knee for two days during the siege, estimated that the village took 20,000 rounds of fire in those two days. (Photo courtesy of Alwesane Notes)



The Panthers were attacked in a series of armed raids on their offices and were made to suffer assassinations and frame-ups of key organizers and Party leaders. As with the AIM frame-ups, the cases were usually won by the defendants, or thrown out of court, but many were railroaded, the legal expenses drained the movement of funds, and it intimidated potential members and supporters. Some were pushed into adventurism and the waiting arms of police provocateurs. Others were turned to become informers or spreaders of disinformation and defeatism.

While AIM was centered in the West, among the reservation Indians, the Indians in the East were profoundly affected by the growing Indian pride and consciousness. Since the "ethnic cleansing" of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, The Indian people of the East had survived by keeping a low profile. Pow-wows were held in secret, and many denied that they had Indian blood, even to their children.

In 1958, crosses were burned on the lawns of two Lumbee families who had recently moved into an all-white neighborhood in Robeson County, North Carolina. The Klu Klux Klan then announced that they intended to hold a rally in Robeson County, "to put those Indians in their place." The Klan rented a field outside the town of Maxton. On the evening of January 18<sup>th</sup>, the assembled KKK members and supporters were surprised to find themselves surrounded and outnumbered by heavily-armed, tri-racial Indians. They had to be rescued by the state Highway Patrol.

This was a major embarrassment to the "Invisible Empire" and showed that its rule could be ended, and it awakened a strong sense of national pride in the Lumbees, who went on to capture political power in Robeson County through elections. In 1971, they founded the first cooperative Indian-owned bank in America. In the words of the present Mayor of Maxton: "Lumbees are renegotiating their position along an ever-fluid frontier that is



characterized by cross-cultural compromise and change, Robeson's frontier has spilled beyond the swamps that mark and bind its inhabitants to one another through institutions like the Lumbee Bank and the University of North Carolina at Pembroke."

In 1970, Wompanoag Indians led an intertribal take-over of a replica of the *Mayflower* in Plymouth Harbor and painted Plymouth Rock red. Thus beginning a tradition of commemorating the "National Day of Mourning" on the *wapsu* Thanksgiving Day in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Today the number of people claiming Indian heritage in the East is overwhelming, particularly among the poor whites. Many actually do have some blood-heritage, but it is also indicative of the growing sense of alienation many people feel within the *wapsu* society. The capitalist political-economy produces a profound sense of alienation in people, on the job and in the community. Wal-Mart is replacing the town centers, and impersonal drive-thru fast food windows and cash machines cut human contact to a minimum.

Even the commercialized pow-wows give people a sense of community and a "spiritual high" they don't get in their churches or neighborhoods. Many of those drawn to these events are "wannabees" or "hobbyists," who just like to dress up in Indian regalia and play "Indian" on the weekends, but a number of these "White Indians" are serious in their commitment to serve their adopted nations.

Our late chief, Sam Gray Wolf, used to say that by the Year 2000, most of the people born in America will have some Indian blood-heritage. He saw that the key to our national restoration in the East was winning these people to identify with and become a part of our nation. The Lenape, like the Lumbee and Eastern Cherokee, are a tri-racial people, and have been for some time. Our strategy must be to bring together people of diverse ethnic backgrounds to pool their resources and live and work together for the common good.

The strategy of colonialism towards the indigenous nations has been to effect: contact, trade, alliance, dependence, subjugation, conquest, dispossession, isolation, indoctrination, assimilation and termination of the indigenous nations. One aspect of this that struck a major blow to the nations was the policy of allotments of tribal lands to private individuals. Those who had been herded onto government reservations were placed on rolls, and each was given an allotment of land to be their private property. The remainder of the lands that had been allotted to the tribes by treaty were then allotted for white settlement.

Federal Indian policy shifted from 1870 on from one of making treaties and relocation of Indians onto reservations to one of breaking up the reservations and putting the Indians under the jurisdiction of federal and state laws as individuals. According to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA):

On February 8, 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Act, named for its author, Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts. Also known as the General Allotment Act, the law

and the chain of broken treaties committed by the federal government over the past three centuries.

Do not forget the contributions and sacrifices our Indian people make to this country's freedoms and liberties each and every day, in spite of the history between our governments. If you forget these things, we all will suffer from a mutual disrespect for which forgiveness and positive relations can never be nurtured.

In reality, the strategy of termination never ended, the *wapsu* just switched tactics. As the BIA recently revealed, they figure that by means of the "blood quantum" used to determine who is an "Indian," there will not be enough "full bloods" left by 2060 to justify continuing the BIA, and the treaty rights of the nations can be terminated once and for all time. By marrying the nations to Indian casinos, a built-in incentive to keep restricting membership was created, (above and beyond the annuities), and thus limiting the claimants for a share in the profits will hold the nations to this policy until the bitter end. Then they can shut down the casinos or "privatize" them.

This is not to say that the liberals did not have a serious desire to make accommodations to the Indians, but the primary reason for making concessions was pacification and buying time. It is the same strategy used to neutralize the workers' movement.

In the post-Civil War period, American workers were leading the international workers' movement in the fight for the eight-hour day. The assassination of President Lincoln and the impeachment and near removal from office of President Andrew Johnson, both orchestrated by the industrial capitalists, were setbacks, but the overthrow of slavery had been a major gain.

The war veterans were strong in standing up to the industrial capitalists, even though unions and strikes were considered to be "illegal conspiracies." In the Pennsylvania coalfields, Irish miners fought with dynamite and guns after their elected union leaders were imprisoned. In the Railroad Strike of 1877, the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892, and the Great Railroad Strike of 1894, armed workers fought pitched battles with Pinkertons, scabs, police and militias against pay cuts and lock-outs.

Prior to WWI, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) emblazoned on its banner the abolition of the wage system. Founded in 1905, the IWW's constitution boldly stated: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system." Big Bill Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners and Eugene Debs of the Railway workers and others like Frank Little, who was "half white, half Indian, and all IWW," confronted the "Robber Barons" of Industry with a union movement that envisioned putting an end to exploitation not merely fighting for shorter hours and better wages.

WWI provided the excuse to clampdown on the Left in America. Eugene Debs was railroaded into prison for speaking out against the war, the draft and the misuse of the



States," and that further, "the United States has the authority to restore federal recognition of Indian sovereignty in order to strengthen tribal self-governance."

The Clinton Policy affirmed that the Constitution held that Indian treaties constituted the "highest law of the land," and that 1.) the Constitution vests Congress with plenary power over Indian affairs, 2.) that the Indian tribal governments retain "important sovereign powers" over their members and territory, and 3.) that the US has a trust responsibility to the Indian nations and that federal and tribal law should have primacy over Indian affairs. In particular, Clinton championed the cause of Native spiritual rights and protecting and allowing access to sacred Indian sites. Executive Order 13007 states that: "where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites."

However, Clinton lost respect from many Indian people by allowing the FBI to intimidate him from keeping his campaign promise to pardon Leonard Peltier, even as he was leaving office in 2000. Allowing FBI agents to demonstrate in front of the White House and publicly dictate presidential policy showed both his weakness as a man and the growing power of a political-police state in America.

Since January of 2001, the Indian nations have seen a dramatic reversal of policy by the Bush Administration. Writing in *Indian Country Today*, Atty. Harold A. Monteau of the Chippewa Cree stated:

It seems this administration is more concerned with undoing everything the former administration has done, instead of moving ahead with its own agenda. Is this because they do not have an agenda, or is their agenda that "anti-Indian?"

It is painfully obvious that Bush II is taking a completely different course of action than previous Republican administrations when it comes to strengthening the economic base of tribal governments and allowing our people to move away from the federal dependency that has hurt us over the years.

This administration is seemingly unwilling to protect and strengthen our sovereign rights as Indian nations the way its Republican forefathers sought to do. President Bush should explain to our Indian people why he chooses to allow such decisions to be made that weakens our ability to take care of ourselves.

If this administration wants to polarize all of Indian country to the Democratic Party, its current course of action will achieve that goal. This administration is playing a dangerous game in promoting an "anti-Indian" policy. This attitude merely emboldens our attitude to annihilate our enemies. In the mid-20th century, such tactics led to the termination era and an outright attack on our basic human rights as indigenous peoples.

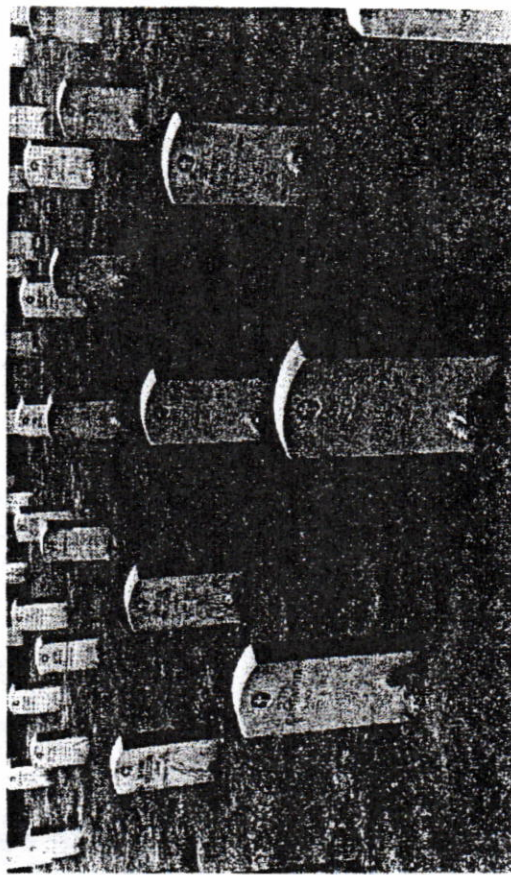
As a child of that era, I remember vividly the horrors Indian people suffered, including our children and our elders, at the hands of an uncaring federal government, and at the hands of city, county and state governments when our Indian people were forced to relocate to find the means to feed their families.

President Bush, do not forget the rights created for American Indians under the Constitution and treaties of the United States. Do not forget the atrocities committed against the First Americans stemming from cultural differences, racism, discrimination

allowed for the president to break up reservation land, which was held in common by the members of a tribe, into small allotments to be parceled out to individuals. Thus, Native Americans registering on a tribal "roll" were granted allotments of reservation land. Each head of family would receive one-quarter of a section (120 acres); each single person over 18 or orphan child under 18 would receive one-eighth of a section (60 acres); and other single persons under 18 would receive one-sixteenth of a section (30 acres).

The purpose of the Dawes Act and the subsequent acts that extended its initial provisions was purportedly to protect Indian property rights, particularly during the land rushes of the 1890s, but in many instances the results were vastly different. The land allotted to the Indians included desert or near-desert lands unsuitable for farming. In addition, the techniques of self-sufficient farming were much different from their tribal way of life. Many Indians did not want to take up agriculture, and those who did want to farm could not afford the tools, animals, seed, and other supplies necessary to get started. There were also problems with inheritance. Often young children inherited allotments that they could not farm because they had been sent away to boarding schools. Multiple heirs also caused a problem: when several people inherited an allotment, the size of the holdings became too small for efficient farming.

The Dawes Commission was organized in 1893, and applications for enrollment were accepted between 1899 and 1907, with adjustments being made until 1914 on contested claims. This covered the Eastern nations who had been removed to the Oklahoma Indian Territory. The Guion Miller Commission for the Eastern Cherokee was approved in 1909 to cover those who had escaped removal to the Indian Territory. Instead of land allotments, this commission offered annuities to those who enrolled.



"Buried here are the Indians who died while attending the Carlisle Indian School (1879-1918)." A cemetery in Carlisle, PA bears mute testimony to the horrors of colonial subjugation and the policy of termination. (The Founders of America)



The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 put a stop to allocations and sale of Indian lands, restoring what was left to the nations under the trust of the federal government in what became known as the "Indian New Deal." "It didn't pan out as we thought it was going to be," Amos Owen, Mdewakanton Sioux tribal chairman, told historian Herbert T. Hoover in a 1970 interview. "I remember when we first organized, the Wheeler-Howard Act was I guess originally the way it was written up, it was really good. If the Indians made a little money or they became more prosperous as a community, they could, in turn, buy up more land. That was the way the Wheeler-Howard Act was written up. And before it went through Congress, I guess, it was revised a bit so that buying back land was struck out of some of the papers it was drawn up on. I don't know how this came about, but it wasn't in the charter and the constitution and bylaws when the thing came into effect. So we done it; I can't just go out and say the Bureau of Indian Affairs done it. But they didn't believe in colonies like ours, a small community like ours buying back land that originally belonged to us anyway."

The goal of policy was to shift the Indian population to the cities. Termination, as an overt and expressed policy to assimilate the Indian nations, reached its zenith in the 1950s. A law passed by Congress in 1953, commonly known as Public Law 280, authorized some states to extend their criminal laws to Indians on reservations and also authorized state courts to hear and decide cases arising on reservations where one or both of the parties were Indian.

Kennedy and Johnson, took a more liberal stance towards the issue of Indian rights than the Eisenhower Administration, but basically by emphasizing the position of the Indian peoples as part of America's underclass and as eligible recipients of federal assistance under the "War on Poverty." The goal of termination of the nations' sovereignty rights was still implicit in the feds' Indian policy.

The Nixon Administration employed dual tactics of repression and concessions, officially abandoning the strategy of termination for one of granting limited self-determination. Samuel R. Cook explains in "What is Indian Self-Determination?" [RED INK, Volume 3, Number One (1 May 1994)]:

In words and substance, the Nixon administration essentially developed a blueprint for self-determination policy. Under Nixon, the BIA began to make contracts with tribal governments and communities for the tribal control of federal services and programs. Although these procedures had yet to be formally codified, many tribes found they were able to administer social and economic programs in ways that would more accurately meet the needs of their communities. Nixon also evoked the opinions and actions of natives in his policy initiatives to an unprecedented extent. This partially reflected the tenor of the times. Native political activity in the national sphere had reached an all-time high, and its visibility made it imperative that policy-makers respond. Yet however progressive, Nixon's Indian policy initiatives were unfortunately complicated by the bane of the Nixon administration. That is to say, Nixon's policies tended to be too liberal for many of his Republican lieutenants to substantively endorse.

The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 codified the procedures for the tribal contracting of federal programs. Ford and Carter did little to alter things, however, the "Reagan Revolution" brought drastic cuts in every program affecting Indians.

Unemployment shot up from 40 to 70 percent in Indian communities between 1981 and 1983. Many were forced to sell their land rights and move off reservation to seek jobs.

In 1984, Congress passed the Indian Land Consolidation Act to deal with the problem of fractionalization of land allotment interests stating that inherited interests amounting to less than two percent would automatically revert to tribal ownership. Fractionalization of ownership claims continues to be a major problem for reservation Indians, tribal courts and the BIA in attempting to probate Indian estates and maintain the Individual Indian Monies system.

In 1988, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Indian nations had already begun to turn to casino gambling and Bingo as a means of raising funds. The US Supreme Court ruled in the State of California v. the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians that the states could not invoke Public Law 280 to stop Indian gambling or any activity that was allowed but regulated under state law. The IGRA was based on the Cabazon decision.

Unlike gaming activities owned by non-Indian concerns, the profits from Indian gaming must go to provide for the general welfare of the tribe and its membership, to fund tribal government and its services or those provided by local governments, to promote tribal economic development or be given to charitable causes. Of course there are still lots of ways for individuals to profit from the casinos and their management.

To oversee the gambling, the National Indian Gaming Commission was established within the Department of the Interior. A tribe is required to negotiate a compact with the state government and the states are required to negotiate in good faith. Disputes are resolved in federal district courts.

In April of 1994, President Clinton summoned the tribal leaders of all 547 federally-recognized Indian nations to the White House. He reaffirmed the "unique legal relationship" between the US government and the federally-recognized tribal governments going back to the Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831), which declared the Indian tribes to be "domestic dependent nations." Clinton issued a directive to the executive branch stating that all agencies must operate within a government-to-government relationship with the federally-recognized nations, and consult, "to the greatest degree practicable and permitted by law," with the tribal governments before taking any actions that would affect the nations.

The government agencies were also required to assess the impact of their agencies on the tribal trust resources and "assure that the tribal interests are considered before the activities are undertaken," and to "remove procedural impediments to working directly with tribal governments," as well as to work cooperatively with other government agencies. The US Department of Justice issued a policy statement on Indian sovereignty and government-to-government relations. It recognized that the "Indian tribes as domestic dependent nations retain sovereign powers, except as divested by the United